2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

885 554 701 others' directions. As the leader of his first war expedition, he was expected to name others with a distinguished war record to serve with him as co-leaders. They would share his rewards and assume their share of the responsibilities. His word was authority in all matters relating to his war expeditions, and, whereas in the past he had accepted the decisions of his leader in disputes appertaining to rewards for striking the enemy or capturing and dividing the spoils, he demanded similar obedience from his group.

554 721 The Mandan had a highly formalized method of recording war honors, and it was the duty of the war leader to verify their authenticity. He would relate the exploits of his men during social occasions and ceremonies. Those holding war honors were entitled to express them by means of particular decorations. Of [77] these decorations, the Mandan claim that the practice of wearing eagle feathers was of recent origin and was borrowed from the Sioux.

554 703 628 721 The highest honor was accorded to a man who went out alone and found an enemy whom he killed and scalped. He was authorized to paint one legging black and the other either yellow or white and to paint each half of his shirt in the same manner. He was also permitted to wear a coyote tail at each ankle signifying that he saw an enemy first and afterward "struck" him. He could also wear one eagle feather in his hair and was the recipient of much honor during the scalp dances as long as he lived. The most common motive for going out alone was to revenge a relative, particularly a sibling, when the slayer was known. In such cases, announcement was made in advance that he was leaving on a particular day to find his relative's slayer. Catlin records such an expedition by Four Bears, who went into the Arikara villages near the Grand River at night to avenge the death of his brother.[2] The old Mandan still related this incident in 1930, when the information for this report was collected. The only instance of one man going far from the village and killing one or more persons remembered as occurring during the lifetime of my informants was for revenge. A distinguished war leader's wife ran away with another dis-

554 578 721 837

2. George Catlin, *The Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians* (London, 1841), pp. 239–40.

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554 578 721 837 return to her new husband's lodge. A family having two eligible daughters invited him in to marry them. He then had help to perform the ceremonies he had pledged. Having killed an enemy when out alone far from home, he became a man of unusual distinction and was respected in council.

554 703 When several went out and found one enemy who was killed far from home, the first to strike him painted one side of his shirt and legging black and wore one coyote tail; the second painted the shirt and leggings in the same manner and wore the coyote tail but added a red stripe to the eagle feather. The third and fourth painted only the legging black, the third one painting two stripes on the eagle feather, and the fourth painting three stripes.

There were also distinctive markings to indicate those who had struck a single enemy on different expeditions. A person striking a lone enemy could paint or decorate two ×'s on the legging, one above the knee and the other below the knee, or he could put them on the sleeve of the shirt. For the second enemy found alone and struck, he added two ×'s to either the other legging or the shirt. Crosses on both sleeves of the shirt and both leggings indicated that he had struck a lone enemy on four different war expeditions when far from the village. The Mandan interpreted "far from the village" as meaning beyond the usual hunting territory.

A coyote tail worn on the ankle signified that the wearer had struck one enemy far from home; two coyote tails signified that he had struck an enemy on two occasions or had killed and struck one enemy when out alone and far from home. When feathers of the crow or raven were attached to the coyote tail, it signified that he was also first to see the enemy.

The leader or Old Wolf was entitled to carry a scalp stick to which was attached a portion of a scalp for each scalp taken while serving as leader. He was also authorized to wear scalps on his shirt; for the first scalp, he would wear one piece on one sleeve; for the second scalp he would wear pieces on both sleeves. He wore a piece of scalp on each sleeve of the shirt and each leg of the leggings for four enemies killed on four different expeditions. He did not, however, wear feathers in his hair, paint his leggings, or wear the coyote tails unless he struck an enemy while serving as leader.

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A person striking three or more enemies was entitled to paint the entire left legging red; ordinarily, they preferred to paint the legging from the knee down, thinking it looked better. The second person striking three or more enemies painted the left legging red above the knee; the third person painted three stripes on the left legging; the fourth person painted four stripes.

It was considered a high honor to be the first person to strike an enemy in a battle during which several enemies were killed. A person winning this distinction painted three black stripes on one legging. The next three to strike the first enemy killed wore three red stripes.

It was considered even a greater honor to strike the last enemy killed. Crows Heart remarked that there was usually a good deal of confusion around the last one to fall and that it was frequently difficult to determine the order of striking. In these disputes, the leader was judge, and his men were expected to accept his decision. Anyone defying him and wearing badges of unauthorized honors was ridiculed. The first to strike wore a black double stripe the full length of one legging and four pairs of horizontal stripes. Those striking second, third, and fourth wore the four pairs of stripes only.

The four warriors striking a slain enemy woman were entitled to wear a short carved stick decorated with porcupine work and feathers in the hair but could not employ the legging or shirt decorations. The leader was entitled to wear a scalp. Striking a girl counted the same as for a woman, while a male, regardless of age, was treated the same as when striking a man.

Striking or seizing a live enemy was considered a higher honor than striking one who had been killed. If, during battle, a warrior was able to seize an enemy, he was entitled to paint or tatoo two hands on the breast. Crows Heart remembered a Mandan who wore eight hands to signify that he had seized an enemy on four occasions and held him until either he or his party could kill him. A man riding a horse over an enemy, knocking him down, could paint a hand on each side of the horse's chest. A man shot in battle could wear a stick with a knot carved in it and painted red. A man first reporting an enemy tepee was entitled to wear the white wing feathers of the swan in his hair, and the first to see smoke from an enemy's tepee wore a section

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

554 703 of the cattail plant in his hair. Those stabbed by a knife or spear could wear a stick carved to resemble a knife. One who had been shot in battle painted red spots on his shirts, leggings, or robes with red stripes below to indicate bullet holes and blood dripping from the wounds. Men painted horse tracks on their blankets to indicate the horses they had stolen. These tracks were bunched to indicate the number taken on each expedition.

727 597 581 Small children too young to remember their parents were frequently taken prisoners and adopted into the village. They were "struck" by the warriors who were given credit toward their war record but such records were not related during ceremonies once the children were adopted into the households. Girls approaching marriageable age were frequently returned alive to the village and sold to those needing an extra wife.

554 562 703 Women also qualified for war honors and were eligible to wear the same decorations as men. Informants remembered a number of women who had struck an enemy and had displayed their war honors during the Scalp Dance. One woman concealed herself at the entrance to her lodge and hit an Assiniboine on the head with a stone hammer. She scalped him and, during the dances, received a hearty applause whenever she was leader of the line of dancers, carrying her scalp on a stick.

554 703 The war records enumerated above constitute the principal awards having social recognition and fall into two general groups: awards limited solely to war leaders and consisting of scalps which were worn on their clothing or carried on scalp sticks and awards to warriors consisting of peculiar painting of the clothing, wearing of coyote tails, and certain feathers. Only those who had led many war parties and had been successful attained the highest ranks as chiefs unless their lack of significant successes in warfare was compensated with a record of many feasts during which time much property was given away or the possession of important tribal bundles. There was a series of designs painted or woven on robes which proclaimed the amount of goods so disposed of.

MARRIAGE AND THE HOUSEHOLD

581 584 Marriage was an exceedingly important event among the leading families of a Mandan village, but for the average family

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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outdoors, and drums within the lodge, but this contradicts the accounts of others. The rattles were originally made of gourds, but in Wounded-face's time baking-powder cans had been substituted.

The Fox women, according to Wounded-face, were selected by the fathers' wives. Their robes were decorated with honor marks earned by their male associates. Little-crow mentioned only two Fox women, selected by the members themselves, and placed in the middle of the line of march.

The military element was obviously prominent in the society. Water-chief relates that on the first public appearance of the new members, each one was called by name by the older men and women of the village and addressed as follows: "We have numerous enemies, you are the one that must fight and try to be a man. You must not forget this when you are in a fight." Later in the season, when Water-chief had struck a coup and received a wound, his people rejoiced, telling him, "That is what you desired to do, you are a brave man." Little-crow declared that the Kit-Foxes did not dance very frequently,—in fact only when the approach of an enemy was reported. Wounded-face, while stating that dances were occasionally performed solely for the sake of amusement and in order to attract the attention of young women, also said that the Foxes danced very often in times of war, beginning as soon as a scout had brought the news of an enemy's approach. The Foxes tried to be brave in battle. Wounded-face recalls an occasion when a very brave enemy, surrounded by the Mandan, was holding his foemen at bay; finally, a Kit-Fox advanced towards him, struck him, and was killed. On another occasion a Kit-Fox together with four companions, set out on a war party. All five were killed by the enemy. This event was commemorated in song: "Once two enemies went into the bush. We surrounded them. One Kit-Fox went forward, and they killed him there."

The purely social features of the organization were also conspicuous. Public appearances were followed by feasts after the members had returned to their lodge. There were occasional horse parades by the Kit-Foxes, and the nocturnal processions referred to by Black-chest were of frequent occurrence.

Little Dog Society.

While Black-chest's and Wounded-face's group owned the Fox society, their fathers were Little Dogs (mini'sinik ō'xat'e) [1]; that is to say, after

[1] The present meaning of the native term seems to be "colt society," but the older informants consider the above rendering correct in the context given and consider the society related to the Hidatsa Little Dog organization. Maximilian also translates *menios* "dog." A corresponding confusion was encountered in the case of the other Mandan societies named for the dog.